

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 AF-06 NEA-10 IO-11 ISO-00 SAJ-01 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01

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OMB-01 SCCT-01 EA-07 /103 W  
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AMCONSUL LENINGRAD  
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AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY RABAT  
AMEMBASSY SANA  
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN  
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

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GENEVA FOR MEPC DEL

E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: PFOR,UR, XF  
SUBJECT: THE MIDDLE EAST AT THE 25TH PARTY CONGRESS

1. SUMMARY. SPEECHES AT THE 25TH PARTY CONGRESS BY  
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REPRESENTATIVES FROM MIDDLE EAST COUNTRIES (EXPANDING OUR  
GEOGRAPHICAL HORIZONS, WE INCLUDE THE SAHARA AND THE FTAI

ISSUES) CONTAINED LITTLE OF SUBSTANCE AND NO SURPRISES ALTHOUGH SAID'S WAS THE ONLY MAJOR SPEECH AT THE CONGRESS SERIOUSLY BOWDLERIZED (TO SPARE THE FRENCH) IN THE SOVIET PRESS. WITH SLIGHT VARIATIONS, MOST SPEAKERS FOLLOWED THE STANDARD FORMULA WHEN DISCUSSING THE BASIS OF A MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT. PRAISE FOR SOVIET SUPPORT OF THE ARAB CAUSE WAS HEAVY, AND THE IDENTIFIED VILLAINS WERE PREDICTABLE. END SUMMARY

2. IN ADDRESSING THE QUESTION OF MODALITIES FOR ESTABLISHING A SETTLEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST, MOST OF THE SPEAKERS USED THE STANDARD FORMULA. THE MOST COMPLETE STATEMENT WAS GIVEN BY ISRAELI COMMUNIST PARTY REPRESENTATIVE, MEIR WILNER, WHO CALLED FOR THE "LIQUIDATION OF THE HOTBED OF WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST THROUGH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A JUST AND LASTING PEACE." THE BASIS FOR SUCH A PEACE, ACCORDING TO WILNER, INCLUDES: ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM ALL ARAB TERRITORY OCCUPIED IN 1967; THE RECOGNITION OF THE LEGITIMATE NATIONAL RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINAIN ARAB PEOPLE INCLUDING THEIR RIGHT TO THEIR OWN STATE; AND, THE GUARANTEES OF THE SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF ALL STATES IN THE MIDDLE EAST, INCLUDING ISRAEL. (ACCORDING TO THE PRAVDA ACCOUNT, THE LAST TWO POINTS WERE GREETED BY APPLAUSE FROM THE AUDIENCE.) WILNER CALLED FOR THE "SOONEST" RECONVENING OF THE GENEVA MEPC WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF THE PLO, AND HE NOTED "WITH SATISFACTION" THAT HIS PARTY'S POSITION "COMPLETELY COINCIDES" WITH THAT OF THE SOVIET UNION. THE PLO'S QADDUMI LAUDED THE SOVIET INITIATIVE CALLING FOR PLO PARTICIPATION IN "ALL INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS" AIMED AT ESTABLISHING A JUST AND LASTING PEACE "WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE UN," AND IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE UN'S DECISIONS OF THE PALESTINAIN QUESTION. QADDUMI DID NOT MENTION THE GENEVA MEPC FORUM PER SE, AND GAVE SLIGHT EMPHASIS TO THE RABAT DECISION. A MESSAGE FROM ARAFAT TO THE ASSEMBLED DELEGATES PRAISED SOVIET HELP IN THE "STRUGGLE" FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF "AN INDEPENDENT NATIONAL AUTHORITY ON THE TERRITORY OF PALESTINE." REPRESENTATIVES OF THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
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SYRIAN BAATH AND COMMUNIST PARTIES ECHOED WILNER'S POINTS (BUT IN LESS DETAIL), AND THE LATTER SPEAKER, RAMO SHEIKO (PHON), EXPRESSED "STRONG SUPPORT" FOR THE SOVIET CALL FOR A RECONVENED GENEVA MEPC. IN ADDITION, THE SYRIAN BAATH SPOKESMAN, ABDEL AL-AKHMARA, REFERRED TO THE ONGOING STRUGGLE WITHIN AND WITHOUT "THE FRAMEWORK OF THE UNITED NATIONS".

3. NOT SURPRISINGLY, ALL THE SPEAKERS EXPRESSED MORE OR LESS LAVISH PRAISE FOR THE SUPPORT GIVEN THEIR

CAUSE BY BREZHNEV, THE CPSU, AND THE SOVIET UNION. CAPTURING THE HONORS IN THIS EVENT WAS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE JORDANIAN CP, YAKUB ZIYAEDDIN (PHON), WHO ASSERTED TO THE DELEGATES THAT "EACH TRUE ARAB SUSTAINS A LOVE FOR YOUR COUNTRY." QADDUMI, WHO WAS SOMEWHAT LESS SLAVISH THAN THE OTHERS, ALSO PRAISED SOVIET SUPPORT DURING THE UNSC DEBATE IN JANUARY.

4. THE FINGERING OF PRINCIPAL MIDDLE EAST VILLAINS ALSO CONTAINED NO SURPRISES. "ISRAELI AGGRESSION" WON BY A NOSE OVER "AMERICAN IMPERIALISM" WITH "WORLD IMPERIALISM" A DISTANT THIRD. HOWEVER, THE SYRIAN CP REP ADDED A NEW WRINKLE AS HE HIT HARD AT ALLEGED MACHINATIONS OF THE CHINESE AND THE LOCAL BOURGEOISIE. IN A MORE LIMITED CONTEXT, THE LEBANESE CP SPOKESMAN, NICOLAS CHAOUI, PLACED THE BLAME FOR THE INSTABILITY IN HIS COUNTRY ON "LOCAL REACTIONARY FORCES AND ISRAELI IMPERIALISM ". HE ALSO CONDEMNED ALLEGED ISRAELI PROVOCATION, AND WARNED OF ISRAEL'S INTENTION TO STRIKE AT LEBANON.

5. CONCERNING THE SAHARA DISPUTE, THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE MOROCCAN PARTY OF PROGRESS AND SOCIALISM, ALI YATA, FUZZED THE ISSUE SOMEWHAT, BUT HE GAVE THE DISTINCT IMPRESSION THAT HE CONSIDERED MOROCCAN SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE SAHARA A FAIT ACCOMPLI. HE CALLED FOR PEACE AND COOPERATION IN THE MAH GREB AND EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER STATES. THE ALGERIAN MINISTER OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH WAS NOT EXPANSIVE ON THE SUBJECT, AND ONLY MENTIONED LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
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THE "STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE IN FORMER SPANISH SAHARA" WHO ARE TRYING TO ESTABLISH THEIR RIGHTS "NOT FAR FROM OUR BORDERS."

6. ACCORDING TO THE PRAVDA VERSION OF HIS SPEECH, SOMALIA'S PRESIDENT SIAD MADE ONLY AN INDIRECT MENTION OF THE FTAL, AS HE SAID THAT "THE FORCES OF IMPERIALISM WILL FIGHT TO THE END, BE IT IN NAMIBIA, FRENCH SOMALILAND, OR SOUTH AFRICA." THE TASS ENGLISH VERSION HOWEVER, ALSO CONTAINED HARDER HITTING LANGUAGE, ESSENTIALLY AIMED AT THE FRENCH, AND WE DEDUCE THAT THE SOVIETS PUBLISHED A TRUNCATED VERSION IN PRAVDA IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN THE SEMBLANCE OF A "BALANCED" POSITION IN THIS PARTICULAR DISPUTE.

7. FURTHER AFIELD, THE SOUTH YEMEN REPRESENTATIVE, ABDUL FATTAH ISMAIL, PLEDGED CONTINUED SOUTH YEMENI SUPPORT FOR THE REVOLUTION IN OMAN, AND CLAIMED THE

REBELS WERE TRYING "TO ESTABLISH A DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL  
REGIME," BUT WERE BEING OPPOSED BY "FOREIGN INVADERS."

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